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The House as a Demographic Factor? Elements of a Marriage Pattern under the Auspices of Hindrane Policies¹

*Margareth Lanzinger**

Abstract: “Hindrane policies” is the keyword for the local society, whose radius of action is presented for debate in this paper. Manifoldly interwoven between familial and local levels, the house could have had a demographic effect here. Several extremely striking demographic factors characterize marriage patterns in the region studied. A first indicator is found in the age-specific proportions of single persons. Also the mean age at first marriage is consistently relatively high, particularly in the second half of the 19th century. Influx and settlement limitations regulated through the instrument of citizenship are reflected in the marriage pattern in terms of the aspect of endogamy and exogamy. The form of acceptance of citizens, political marriage consent, which tied marriageability to property, partitioning prohibition and house-building taboo, relatively fixed property sizes and the inheritance practice oriented to the primogeniture model and high migration rates. All of these factors together were the pillars of this citizenship-estate society.

Marriage patterns are composed of various elements. Percentages and rates presented at the local level as the result of demographic analyses can be explained from concrete socio-cultural contexts, especially where significant deviations from the average are involved. What determines factors such as marriage age and frequency of marriages is not a diffuse, quasi autopoietic behavior, but rather a specific formation of socio-cultural norms interwoven in

¹ The following is based on the results of my doctoral dissertation, M. Lanzinger, *Das gesicherte Erbe. Heirat in lokalen und familialen Kontexten, Innichen 1700-1900*, Wien/Köln/Weimar 2003.

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a network.² To a certain degree, these have become internalized, are taken for granted. They constitute a certain self-understanding, to which a political dimension is also always attributed. A crucial point in terms of the scope and applicability of norms is a society's power of social integration. The interesting question here is how strong this is and how it is produced on the one hand, but also where its limitations are – for not everything that is on the local political “program” is equally clear to everyone. Like the decision-makers' manner of action, these aspects constitute important foundations for understanding their impacts on everyday practices, assumptions, resistance and scope for negotiations, which are based on different logics.

“Hindrance policies” is the keyword for the local society, whose radius of action is presented for debate in the following. Guidelines of this kind require practical instruments for implementation. Manifoldly interwoven between familial and local levels, the house could have had a demographic effect here, according to my hypothesis. The investigation is situated in Innichen, today in South Tyrol (Northern Italy); until 1806 the market town was a court market under the Bavarian monastery of Freising, following the so-called “Napoleonic disorder” it belonged to the district of Lienz in today's East Tyrol until 1919. A mixed economy of agriculture, crafts and trades dominated the local economic life in the 18th and 19th centuries. The concentration of craftspeople and commercial businesses is relatively high, as evidenced by a register from 1790.³

Numerous branches of crafts were organized in guilds, which belonged in part to larger associations, for instance as quarter shops.⁴ Over the course of the

² On this, cf. R. Gehrman, *Das Verhältnis von Bevölkerung und Ressourcen als Problem der demographischen Theorie und historischen Forschung*, in: K. Ditt et.al. (Ed.), *Agrarmodernisierung und ökologische Folgen. Westfalen vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Paderborn/Wien 2001, 23-45; J. Schlumbohm, *Micro-history and the Macro-Models of the European Demographic System in Pre-Industrial Times: Life Course Patterns in the Parish of Belm (Northwest Germany), Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, in: *The History of the Family* 1 (1996), 81-95, 81ff.

³ According to Rosa Lanzinger's calculations, in 1790 every twelfth resident was a craftsman or tradesman. However, the population figures used by the author also include the largely agrarian Innichberg, so that the proportion is increased to every tenth resident, if one only takes the market residents into consideration; cf. R. Lanzinger, *Gewerbetopographie des Landesgerichtes Sillian im Zeitraum von 1720 bis 1860*, doctoral dissertation Innsbruck 1980, 47f.

⁴ At the end of the 17th century there was a guild of cobblers and tanners and a guild of bakers and millers in Innichen. In 1720 the smiths and wheelwrights were granted permission to set up a quarter shop, dependent on the main shop in Innsbruck, and in 1760 Empress Maria Theresia granted permission to the cabinet-makers, locksmiths, gunsmiths and clockmakers, and to the glaziers, masons and carpenters to set up their own shop as collective guilds. With a quarter shop of their own, the linen weavers separated from the main shop in Sillian in 1768, and at about the same time, the glove-makers opened a shop of their own in Innichen, too. Cf. *Bezirksheimatmuseum (BHM) Lienz, Oberforcher Regestern (OR) III 2, Verfachbuch Heinfels 1768 IV 5, fol. 191*, and H. Rogger, *Handwerker und Gewerbetreibende in Innichen seit dem 17. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Familien- und all-*

19th century, particularly the branches of crafts that produced for translocal markets – such as glove-making, linen weaving or parchment manufactory – became unprofitable due to industrial competition; others became increasingly less important due to the development of the trade and transport industry. This primarily affected carriers and consequently also wheelwrights and cartwrights. Consequent to the building of the railroad – the Pustertal railroad, which also traveled to Innichen, opened in 1871 – summer holiday tourism and alpinism gradually began to develop.⁵ In addition, a greater concentration on agriculture probably balanced out a drop in the crafts and trade structure to a certain extent.⁶

This phase in particular was more strongly characterized by the perpetuation of patterns of thinking in terms of estate than by upheavals and new, more liberal concepts. The massiveness of hindrance policies and their long duration become more understandable against the background of the attribution of meaning and valuation with regards to stability and continuity.⁷ Yet this attitude should not be connected or equated with static images: preserving stability and continuity requires some effort, particularly in times of general socio-economic changes and upheavals. In order for something to remain as it is, adequate activities guided by a relevant interest must be undertaken, stability and continuity must repeatedly be newly and actively established.

Ratio of Single Persons and Age of First Marriages

Several extremely striking demographic factors characterize marriage patterns in the region studied. A first indicator is found in the number of single women and men in this region in the late 19th century: the age-specific proportions of single persons,⁸ surveyed in 1880 at the district level, indicate extremely high

gemeinen Sozialgeschichte dieses Hochpustertaler Marktfleckens, doctoral dissertation Innsbruck 1986, 19ff.

⁵ Cf. H. Heiss, *Grandhotel Toblach. Pionier des Tourismus in den Alpen / Grand Hotel Dobbiaco. All'avanguardia del turismo nelle Alpi*, Wien/Bozen 1999; A. Holzer, *Die Bewaffnung des Auges. Die Drei Zinnen oder Eine kleine Geschichte vom Blick auf das Gebirge*, Wien 1996, 51f.

⁶ This is indicated, for instance, by the comparatively early founding of an Alpine dairy cooperative.

⁷ Cf. E. Hobsbawm, *Introduction: Inventing Traditions*, in: E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Ed.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 1983, 1-14; M. Lanzinger, „... nach dem altherkömmlichen Gebrauche ...“. Durchstaatlichung mit Hindernissen am Tiroler Beispiel. Konstruktion von Kontinuitäten in Zeiten des Umbruchs, in: R. Dörner et.al. (Ed.), *Lokale Gesellschaften im Vergleich. Europäische Erfahrungen im 19. Jahrhundert*, Trier 2001, 201-217.

⁸ In addition to the district of Lienz, to which Innichen belonged, the selected districts Bruneck and Brixen were the neighboring Pustertal districts to the west, and Ampezzo the adjacent district to the south.

values especially for the district of Lienz (cf. Table 1), particularly striking among the age group of 41–50-year-olds and 51– 60-year-olds: nearly half the population is single, which also means that the majority remains so. This applies more to women than to men, which can be related to a reproduction-oriented marriage concept. The neighboring Italian district of Ampezzo provides an interesting contrast to the selected German-speaking districts of Brixen, Bruneck and Lienz, as the number of single persons in Ampezzo is significantly lower, indicating a different marriage pattern.⁹

Table 1: Age-specific proportion of single persons in the districts of Puster-tal 1880 (in %)¹⁰

	Men between the ages of				Women between the ages of			
	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60
Brixen	91.8	55.4	37.8	33.9	78.3	46.7	35.2	36.8
Ampezzo	91.7	39.1	23.5	23.1	73.4	44.4	33.1	27.7
Bruneck	91.2	59.1	37.6	31.1	82.1	52.2	34.9	35.9
Lienz	91.0	60.5	48.3	43.7	81.0	56.2	50.1	49.8

These extremely high quotas of single persons may not be directly transferable to Innichen¹¹ and can probably not be projected very far into the past. There is some indication that this situation was probably intensified in the course of the 19th century in this respect. This appears evident, for example, in relation to changes in the average marrying age, here evaluated in a longitudinal section for Innichen (cf. Table 2). The marrying age for both parties is consistently relatively high, particularly in the second half of the 19th century.

In a European comparison, these two variables, the ratio of single persons and average age of marriage, represent an extreme development of the so-called *European Marriage Pattern* – as posed for discussion by John Hajnal.¹²

⁹ Cf. also Elisabeth Mantl to Trentino: E. Mantl, *Heirat als Privileg. Obrigkeitliche Heiratsbeschränkungen in Tirol und Vorarlberg 1820-1920*, Wien/München 1997, 78ff; E. Mantl, *Legal Restrictions on Marriage: Marriage and Inequality in the Austrian Tyrol during the Nineteenth Century*, in: *The History of the Family* 4 (1999), 185-207.

¹⁰ Source: Österreichische Statistik, Bd. 2/1, 1882, 154ff.

¹¹ Exact calculations on the basis of the Household Registry Book, Stiftsarchiv Innichen (STA), Familienbuch 1829 – Einwohner vom Markte Innichen und auf dem Innichberge, could not be made, due to missing entries regarding marital state; the corresponding additional investigations are stalled by the relatively high proportion of persons from outside the area, particularly among the group of single persons, who can also be widowed, and by the frequent occurrence of the same names, which does not allow an unambiguous identification of the person without further specific information.

¹² J. Hajnal, *European Marriage Patterns in Perspective*, in: D.V. Glass & D.E.C. Eversley (Ed.), *Population in History. Essays in Historical Demography*, London 1965, 101-143.

In order to explain this phenomenon, it is necessary to look at additional facets of the marriage pattern and their contexts.

Table 2: Innichen: Mean age at first marriage for women and men¹³

Period	Women	Men
1700-1749	25.9	26.4
1750-1799	28.5	30.0
1800-1849	28.0	30.8
1850-1899	31.5	34.5

Contexts of Exogamy: Influx Policies and Citizenship

One initial element of local policies with a recursive effect on marriage possibilities is represented by the influx and settlement limitations, which are regulated through the instrument of citizenship.¹⁴ To be accepted as a new citizen in the market, one had to meet certain criteria. Men with certain professional qualifications – such as apothecaries or barbers – were purposely granted citizenship as their services were needed, otherwise wealthy men were preferred, who had frequently already undertaken steps toward local integration, such as through the purchase of a house or the intention of marriage with a citizen's daughter in the near future.

The decision on who would be accepted as a citizen was made on a case to case basis by the communal representatives. The citizenship purchase fee that was to be paid amounted to a relatively high sum.¹⁵ Around 1800, for instance, it amounted to one and a half times the annual wages of a night watchman – one local historian names the price of five cows as a comparison.¹⁶ For many people wishing to move there, the financial aspect presented a considerable obstacle. There was also an intermediate stage, specifically as so-called inmates,¹⁷ who had to pay an annual acceptance fee and also be accepted by the appropriate guild, if they intended to pursue a craft profession.

¹³ Calculated from the family database on the basis of a reconstitution of families 1700-1900; cf. STA Innichen, Familienbuch angefangen vom Jahre 1700.

¹⁴ Cf. M. E. Wiesner, Gender, Church, and State in Early Modern Germany. Essays, London 1998, Chapter 7; H.-W. Hahn, Von der „Kultur der Bürger“ zur bürgerlichen Kultur. Von Veränderungen in der Lebenswelt des Wetzlarer Bürgertums zwischen 1700 und 1900, in: R. van Dülmen (Ed.), Armut, Liebe, Ehre. Studien zur historischen Kulturforschung, Frankfurt a. M. 1988, 144-185.

¹⁵ Cf. Lanzinger, Das gesicherte Erbe, 68ff.

¹⁶ Cf. E. Kühebacher, Spiel und Fest in der Geschichte der Hofmark Innichen, ed. by Volksbühne Innichen, Innichen 1990, 47, note 61.

¹⁷ In deviation from the terminology of Austrian family history research, inmates are defined here not by their position in the household, but rather in the community.

A certain scope for negotiation is evident in a few exceptional cases, because men were occasionally also accepted as citizens, who were not among the desired candidates: in two cases, which were conspicuous for the reduced purchase fee, the men involved married a woman with an illegitimate child. These cases can be read as an example of the overlapping of interests at the communal level. Despite the high proportion of single persons and the advanced marriage age, and contrary to the neighboring region of Carinthia, where the number of illegitimate births made up over 80% in some parishes in the second half of the 19th century,¹⁸ the ratio of illegitimacy was very low.¹⁹ The combination of guild value attitudes and citizenship-estate thinking with a highly internalized Catholic order of values made it possible to use illegitimacy as a means of pressure in some situations.

Citizenship purchases are documented until the mid-19th century. Until then, it was up to the communal representatives to decide who would be permitted to settle in the market on a long-term basis. During the subsequent decades, a whole series of new communal laws were developed at the level of the monarchy, then rescinded again or modified.²⁰ It was not until the 1890s that the claim to acceptance in the so-called “homeland association of the community” was legally regulated: a stay of ten years was required. No further criteria could be tied to the acceptance. As a rule, the rejection of an application therefore meant only a postponement. The point of contention was found primarily in the scope of interpretation, once these magical ten years had in fact been reached, since interruptions – such as periods of service elsewhere – could result in starting to count from the beginning again.²¹ Although principle rejection was no longer possible, this change only really came into effect at the turn of the 20th century. For the situation during the decades in between, after the

¹⁸ On the situation in Carinthia, cf. M. Mitterauer, *Ledige Mütter. Zur Geschichte illegitimer Geburten in Europa*, München 1983, 23. Within Tyrol as well, there is an obvious gap from the Lower Inn Valley going west and in comparison with the Italian-speaking south. Cf. M. Mitterauer, *Familienformen und Illegitimität in ländlichen Gebieten Österreichs*, in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 19 (1979), 123-188, 124; C. Grandi, *Una storia, mille storie. Le madri nubli del Tirolo-Vorarlberg nel XIX-XX secolo*, in: S. Clemini & A. Spada (Ed.), *Der ledige Un-Wille. Zur Geschichte lediger Frauen in der Neuzeit / Norma e contrarietà. Una storia del nubilato in età moderna e contemporanea*, Wien/Bozen 1998, 141-165.

¹⁹ Registration in the 18th century is incomplete, so that no certain statistics can be given. On the whole, the proportion of illegitimately born children in the 19th century was about 6%. This was one or two – in one case three and in one single case five – illegitimate births per year.

²⁰ Cf. L. Spiegel, *Heimatrecht*, in: E. Mischler & J. Ulbrich, *Österreichisches Staatswörterbuch. Handbuch des gesamten österreichischen öffentlichen Rechtes*, Wien 1906, Vol. 2, 809-843, 813ff; *Das Heimatrecht*, in: A. Pace (Ed.), *Ernst Mayrhofer's Handbuch für den politischen Verwaltungsdienst in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern*, Wien 1896⁵, Vol. 2, 974-1108; J. Klabouch, *Die Lokalverwaltung in Cisleithanien*, in: A. Wandruszka & P. Urbanitsch (Ed.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, Vol. 2: *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, Wien 1975, 270-305, 273ff.

²¹ Cf. Gemeindearchiv (GA) Innichen, Sitzungsprotokolle 1896-1901.

end of the old citizenship laws, it is evident that there was a kind of isolation policy with regards to men marrying into the community from outside, as specific evaluations for the second half of the 19th century have shown. This may be due to a certain insecurity in the wake of impending upheavals.²² Influx restriction in terms of permanent settlement and the question of granting citizenship applied here primarily to men who came from outside. Women who came from elsewhere received citizenship through marriage, also called tacit citizenship. To this extent, in some situations single women had an interest in attaining citizenship themselves, which some also did.²³

Table 3: Innichen: Origin of marriage partners (first marriages in %)²⁴

	1750-1799	1800-1849	1850-1899	1849
both partners local	41.3	35.2	27.8	25.3
woman non-local	43.4	47.5	57.4	53.1
man non-local	7.0	7.5	7.4	12.7
both non-local	3.5	8.3	5.6	8.9
unknown	4.9	1.4	1.8	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
number of marriages	143	145	108	79

These gender-specific differences in practice are reflected in the marriage pattern, if the couple constellations are analyzed in terms of the aspect of endogamy and exogamy (cf. Table 3). What is conspicuous is the successively lower number of marriages, in which both partners are local and, parallel to this process, the successively higher number of marriages, in which the woman comes from outside the community. In comparison, the number of marriages, in which the man comes from outside or in which both partners are non-local, comprises a far lower proportion.²⁵ The cross-section analysis of 1849 is primarily in-

²² Cf. Lanzinger, *Das gesicherte Erbe*, 98ff.

²³ In conjunction with the purchase of a portion of a house on the part of the two single sisters Maria and Theresia Köckin, for example, it was noted that they had now purchased citizenship; cf. BHM Lienz, OR III 3, *Verfachbuch Innichen* (VBI) 1766 XII 8, fol. 360.

²⁴ For the longitude: analysis of the family database on the basis of family reconstitution 1700-1900; STA Innichen, *Familienbuch 1700*. For the cross-section: analysis of the household database on the basis of STA Innichen, *Familienbuch 1829*.

²⁵ On this, cf. the gender-specific findings from Angiolina Arru for Rome in 1845, which indicate almost the opposite ratio: here almost a quarter of all marriages are between partners both born in Rome and another quarter between women from Rome and immigrant men. The lowest proportion comprises men from Rome marrying women from outside, and the highest proportion of marriages, 35%, are between partners both from outside Rome; cf. A. Arru, *Il prezzo della cittadinanza. Strategie di integrazione nella Roma pontifica*, in: *Quaderni Storici* 91 (1996), 157-171, 160; A. Arru, *Zuwanderung, Heiratsmarkt und die*

tended to serve as a corrective for the latter couple constellation, because due to the local focus of registration in the parish records, on which the family registry book is based, those couples who married elsewhere are overlooked. Their proportion should consequently be estimated somewhat higher, but the trend nevertheless affirms the longitudinal section. A relatively high mobility of women contrasts a relatively immobile position of men marrying locally. A marriage pattern of this kind reveals a greater openness in a society that appears quite closed at first glance. Relationships of exchange through marriage and thus a part of translocal networks of contacts were thus carried out through women. The growing number of women marrying into the community could be linked to the increasing isolation with regards to men, as a counter-situation to a certain extent, and would thus correspond to the picture outlined above of a more critical situation.

The Connection Between Marriageability and Property: Political Marriage Consent

In addition to the influx limitations, there was another restrictive practice that directly affected the possibilities of marriage, specifically the so-called political marriage consent, which tied marriageability to property or a certain minimum income. This was introduced in 1820 in the Habsburg monarchy as a way of coping with pauperization in cities such as Vienna and Prague. The desired end was not really achieved there, probably due to the impossibility of administration and the large number of loopholes in the nets of control. In many places, it was also rejected by regional and provincial authorities, which ultimately led to it being rescinded in 1868.²⁶ In Salzburg and parts of Tyrol, however, the political marriage consent found considerable interest among regional politicians and remained in force – in Salzburg until the 1880s, in Tyrol characteristically even until 1921.²⁷ The policy of marriage consent is also known from the region of southern Germany and from Switzerland.²⁸

soziale Konstruktion der Stadtbürgerschaft. Rom im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert, in: J. Ehmer et.al. (Ed.), *Historische Familienforschung. Ergebnisse und Kontroversen*, Frankfurt a. M./New York 1997, 103-122.

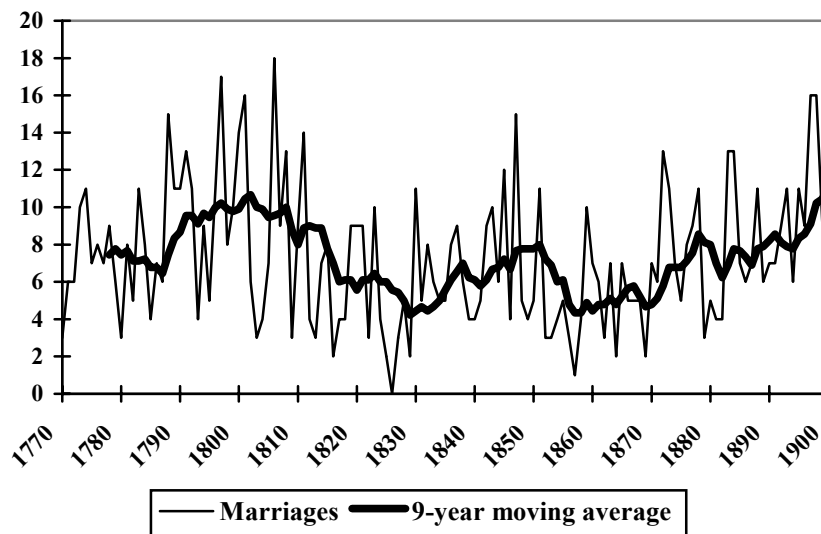
²⁶ On the debates in the individual countries of the Habsburg monarchy on the abolition of the law of marriage consent, cf. Ch. Pelikan, *Aspekte der Geschichte des Eherechts in Österreich*, doctoral dissertation Wien 1981, 93-172; cf. also: E. Saurer, *Reglementierte Liebe. Staatliche Ehehindernisse in der vormärzlichen Habsburgermonarchie*, in: *Sozialwissenschaftliche Information* 24 (1995), 245-252.

²⁷ On Tyrol, cf. Mantl, *Heirat als Privileg*.

²⁸ K.-J. Matz, *Pauperismus und Bevölkerung. Die gesetzlichen Ehebeschränkungen in den süddeutschen Staaten während des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1980; A.-L. Head-König, *Forced Marriages and Forbidden Marriages in Switzerland: State Control of the Formation*

The marriage consent was a permit for marriage issued by the communal authorities on the basis of existing property or income. Those who could not provide proof of this were not allowed to marry. Occasional admonitions allow the conclusion that the granting of marriage consent was often more rigidly practiced in parts of Tyrol than provided for by law. Not only day laborers, apprentices and people with an unsteady working life – as set out in the relevant law – but nearly every couple considering marriage had to present this permit to the parish priest before the wedding.²⁹

Diagram 1: Number of marriages in the Parish of Innichen 1770-1900 (absolute and as 9-year moving average)³⁰



A review of the meeting protocols of the Innichen communal council also revealed that the decision on the granting of a marriage consent was not delegated to the district level, as was also prescribed by the law after 1868. This measure was founded on the expectation and anticipation that the practice would soon be liberalized. In a marriage consent case from 1873, the communal council was reprimanded that the Royal and Imperial District Authorities

of Marriages in Catholic and Protestant Cantons in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, in: *Continuity and Change* 8 (1993), 441-465.

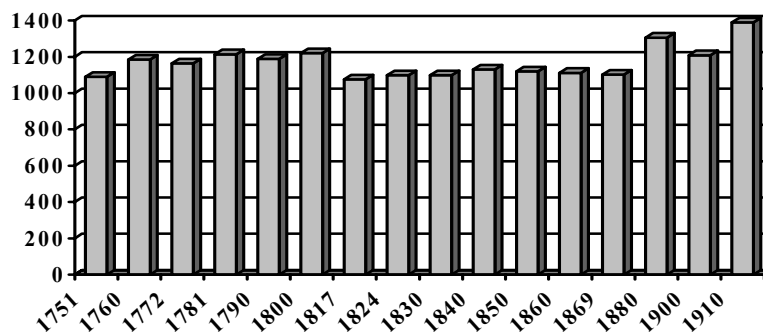
²⁹ An admonition of this kind in conjunction with so-called Roman marriages was received, for example, at the consistory of the Prince-Bishop in Brixen.

³⁰ Source: STA Innichen, Liber Conjugatorum II, 1761-1784, Liber Conjugatorum III, 1784-1882 and Trauungsbuch IV, 1845-1927.

were to be responsible for granting the permit and the communal council was forbidden to overstep their competencies.³¹ This warning, however, seems to have vanished into nothingness, for the meeting protocols of the communal council show that applications for marriage consents continued to be discussed and decided there.

A look at the number of marriages shows drops in the 1820s, in other words during the period when the marriage consent was introduced, and after 1850, a restorative phase on the whole (cf. Diagram 1). This was characterized by changes and resultant uncertainty: on the one hand – as indicated earlier – in the context of changing state legislature at the communal level, on the other hand due to general socio-economic transformation processes leading to drops in the local economy and market outlets.

Diagram 2: Population of Innichen and Innichberg³²



These curves are only significant in connection with the number of inhabitants. In the period between 1754 and 1869, there was only a marginal growth of not even 10% in the population of Tyrol as a whole, although with regional differences,³³ whereby East Tyrol and the adjacent Pustertal in South Tyrol, where Innichen is located, showed hardly any changes in the population level for the years from 1754 to 1834.³⁴ The picture of stagnation is confirmed in Innichen (cf. Diagram 2) – and this specifically at a time, when local and regional popu-

³¹ GA Innichen, Sitzungsprotokolle, 4. April 1873, Nr. 2.231.

³² The data for the years 1751 to 1824 are from H. Kramer, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Landgerichtes Sillian in Osttirol von ungefähr 1750 bis 1850, in: Carinthia I, 152 (1962), 27-59, 30ff; the data for the years 1840 to 1860 from STA Innichen, Familienbuch 1829, Appendix. The data for the years 1869 to 1910 are from the official census (Ortsrepertorien).

³³ Cf. K. Klein, Österreichs Bevölkerung 1754-1869, in: Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft 113 (1971), 34-62, 53.

³⁴ Cf. ibd., 54.

lations elsewhere doubled and tripled, as was the case, for example, in Belm, Neckarhausen or Törbel.³⁵

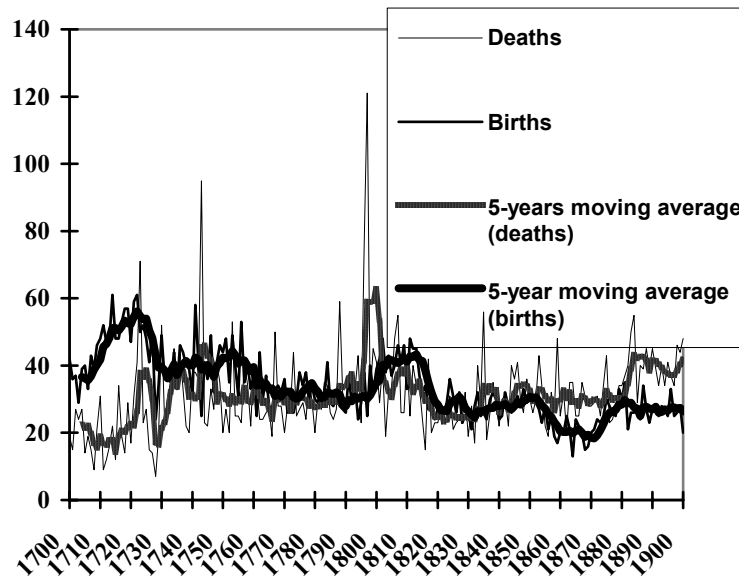
A purely demographic explanation for this phenomenon based on births and mortality rates would certainly be insufficient in the spectrum as a whole. The birth and mortality rates closely follow the five-year moving average during the period between 1760 and 1850 – contrary to the decades before and after that period, in which the birth rate was conspicuously higher or lower (cf. Diagram 3). Yet these demographic findings, in my opinion, are to be seen as part of the regime in a complex bundle of causes and effects, and not one-dimensionally in a direct causal connection with the stable population rate. In light of the high ratio of single persons, as well as the influx and marriage restrictions, a stagnation is certainly intended and is reflected in the birth rates in a circular interaction. In addition, a significant argument is that migration is not taken into consideration in this comparison of population, birth and mortality rates. An approximate quantification of emigration was not possible in the course of the present investigations. In conjunction with property assignments and inheritance, however, it is evident that a substantial number of local female and male citizens – the latter frequently in conjunction with the craftsman curriculum – left the community. Emigration is therefore to be considered as an important component of the regime outlined here.³⁶ By the mid-19th century at the latest and in the wake of major industrialization, it seems that the craft-related patterns of migration, which appeared to be important in the 18th and 19th century

³⁵ Jürgen Schlumbohm notes a rise in population for Belm from 1,559 inhabitants in 1662 to 2,252 in 1772 and finally 3,296 in 1858. In Neckarhausen, the population rose nearly three-fold during a period of observation about 50 years longer: from roughly 340 persons in 1700 to about 930 around 1870. And in the Swiss mountain village of Törbel, where citizenship also functioned as an effective instrument of control and influx restriction, the population nevertheless doubled from 280 around 1700 to 572 around 1860. In Laichingen, on the other hand, the population remained much more stable between 1730 and 1830. Subsequently, though, it also clearly rose here: from approx. 1,400 to 1,600. Cf. J. Schlumbohm, *Lebensläufe, Familien, Höfe. Die Bauern und Heuerleute des Osnabrückischen Kirchspiels Belm in proto-industrieller Zeit, 1650-1860*, Göttingen 1994, 49; D. W. Sabeau, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870*, Cambridge 1990, 41; R. McC. Netting, *Balancing on an Alp. Ecological Change and Continuity in a Swiss Mountain Community*, Cambridge 1981, 60 and 96f; H. Medick, *Weben und Überleben in Laichingen 1650-1900. Lokalgeschichte als Allgemeine Geschichte*, Göttingen 1996, 305f.

³⁶ Similar to the results from other more recent studies on migration in the Alps region, here too it is mostly a case of emigrants, who came from a middle-class milieu and had basic training in craft professions, so that they also had – as it can be concluded from documented careers – realistic chances for establishing a corresponding existence. Cf. S. Hochstadt, *Migration in Preindustrial Germany*, in: *Central European History* 16 (1983), 195-224; P. P. Viazzo, *Lo studio dell'emigrazione alpina tra ecologia culturale e demografia storica: alcune questioni aperte*, in: G. Ferigo & A. Fornasin (Ed.), *Cramars. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi cramars. Emigrazione, mobilità, mestieri ambulanti dalla Carnia in Età Moderna*, Udine 1997, 9-19. Cf. also L. Fontaine, *Migration and Work in the Alps (17th - 18th Centuries): Family Strategies, Kinship, and Clientelism*, in: *The History of the Family* 3 (1998), 351-369.

in terms of their magnitude, no longer functioned to the same extent.³⁷ The phenomenon of brothers and sisters remaining single and staying with their parents to work with them could be related to this context, for which reason it would be an increasingly occurring phenomenon in the late 19th century as a result of the specific structural problems of this transitional phase. This situation – a classical one in the brother constellation: one the heir to the farm, the other the farm hand – was not limited to the agricultural area either.

Diagram 3: Births and death in Innichen 1700 - 1900 (absolute and as 5-year moving average)³⁸



Another possible explanation focuses on the Alpine situation: Innichen is located at an altitude of 1,175 meters in the midst of the Dolomites. The awareness of a sensitive Alpine ecology determined the way resources – mountain pastures, forests and meadows – were dealt with in the documented meeting protocols of the communal council.³⁹ However, this certainly does not indicate

³⁷ On the changing radiuses of migration from an urban perspective, cf. J. Ehmer, *Soziale Traditionen in Zeiten des Wandels. Arbeiter und Handwerker im 19. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt a. M./New York 1994, 115ff.

³⁸ Source: STA Innichen, Liber Baptizatorum, Tomus II, 1631-1722; Tomus III, 1723-1785; Tomus IV, 1784-1841; Taufbuch, Vol. 5, 1842-1927; Liber Mortuorum, Tomus I, 1782-1743; Tomus II, 1744-1784; Tomus IIIa, 1784-1881; Sterbebuch, Vol. 4, 1882-1935; Liber Baptizatorum, Copulatorum, Mortuorum from Innichberg, 1786-1807.

³⁹ Cf. GA Innichen, Sitzungsprotokolle, Gemeindeabhaltungsprotokolle.

a balance – which would be achieved quasi automatically and by itself – between Alpine resources and their social utilization, steering the population development for its part. What is behind this is not a kind of independent existence of a populating practice, but instead, it was decidedly local political interests and socio-cultural concepts from the world of life of those involved that defined courses of action. The preservation of existing socio-economic structures at a dominant middle-class status quo and the prevention of reproduced poverty constitute central issues in this. The nexus of sensitive ecology and – as it appears – extensively cultivated guild-estate value attitudes and ideas may have strengthened the stringency of actions.

Restrictions on Partitioning

The partitioning of properties, as another component of a regime of stability, also had uniformly negative connotations. Although some farms were partitioned in Innichen too, this took place in earlier centuries – as can also be reconstructed for Innichberg. The 30 Innichberg farming properties were divided once at the most; between 1700 and 1900 there were no further partitions. In the “Ordnung aines Ehrwürdigen Capitls zu Inniching” from one of the most important landlords in Innichen and surroundings⁴⁰ from 1555, further partitioning of properties was not only considered damaging and disadvantageous, but even despised as corrupting and consequently forbidden. The order also recommended that previously executed partitions should be reversed.⁴¹ Joseph II’s special regulations for the peasantry principally prescribed indivisibility and succession through the eldest son.⁴² Tyrol retained this regulation, even when it was nullified at the level of the monarchy in 1868.

In the market, approximately one fifth of the houses were partitioned, their number remained stable during the period from 1829 to 1849, which is best documented in this case. Partitions of this kind were sometimes only temporary solutions, followed by reunification. The unity of a house was supported, not least of all, by the regulation that the owner of other portions of the house had first option for purchase. This meant that the partitioning of a house rarely resulted in a completely equipped new household. Especially the kitchen was normally used in common – setting up a new kitchen or building a new stove

⁴⁰ Because of the specific political constitution in Tyrol with the special situation of the free peasantry, landlordship was not strongly developed, and it was defined territorially, not as lordship over persons.

⁴¹ STA Innichen, Freistifts Ordnung aines Ehrwürdigen Capitls zu Inniching. 1555, unnumbered, cited from O. Strobl, *Geschichte des Kollegiatskapitels Innichen von 1690 bis 1785*, doctoral dissertation Innsbruck 1973, 395.

⁴² Cf. R. Palme, *Die Entwicklung des Erbrechtes im ländlichen Bereich*, in: P. Rösch (Ed.), *Südtiroler Erbhöfe. Menschen und Geschichten*, Bozen 1994, 25-37, 32.

was subject to permits and fees. In this context, the so-called fire visitations and chimney inspectors probably had a certain control function. At regular intervals, once a year in the 19th century for example, they went from house to house to primarily inspect fire safety,⁴³ but this also made it a risk to set up a non-authorized kitchen.

The “House-Building Taboo”

Finally, in addition to influx and marriage limitations, partition restrictions and relatively fixed property sizes, there was also a kind of house-building taboo. In this respect, two key occurrences are documented, which show that this was based on an intentional policy.

A so-called “well investment”, the new determination of well fees, was decreed in 1799 in the presence of local representatives from the town and the court, and one representative each from the nobility and the monastery, in which it was stated that since the last investment of this kind 40 years earlier, two new houses had been added.⁴⁴ At this time, there were 128 houses in the market, a number that was not to change until the last third of the 19th century.

One of these two houses was the former St. Mauritius church, which had been secularized under Joseph II and turned into a residential building,⁴⁵ and the other was the so-called Zeberlehaus. They had been assigned the house numbers 48 1/2 and 95 1/2, in other words the half-number of the neighboring house as it was officially prescribed at this time.⁴⁶ According to the invoice from the responsible painter, the houses had been numbered in 1767,⁴⁷ so the Zeberlehaus was built after this time.

It is probably not a mere coincidence that this house was already practically outside the town on the other side of one of the bridges bordering the town, and it was right next to the infirmary, which was also not a prestigious location. It appears from the reconstruction that the builder of the house was Johann Zeberle, an imperial royal road worker. The birthplaces of his children suggest that he was from the area of southern Germany and probably ended up in Innichen through his office. He obviously wanted to build a house here, but the town council initially refused him the needed permit. Although the entire chronology of the proceedings has not (yet) been found, a crucial letter does exist, which indicates that Johann Zeberle finally appealed to the provincial gover-

⁴³ Cf. GA Innichen, Sitzungsprotokolle, Gemeindeabhaltungsprotokolle.

⁴⁴ Cf. Tiroler Landesarchiv (TLA) Innsbruck, VBI 1799, fol. 1234.

⁴⁵ Cf. BHM Lienz, OR III 1, VBI 1788 VII 26, fol. 247.

⁴⁶ Cf. A. Gürtler, *Die Volkszählungen Maria Theresias und Josef II. 1753-1790*, Innsbruck 1909, 125f.

⁴⁷ Cf. GA Innichen, Bürgermeister-Amts-Raitungen, Fasz. 3/35, quoted by Rogger, *Handwerker*, 130.

norship. And at the behest of a “gubernatorial command” from Innsbruck in 1779, building ground finally had to be granted to him, since the provincial governorship deemed that the objections from the citizenry of Innichen appeared not at all “worthy of consideration” in this respect. The letter also indicates that the local representatives had declared that this building ground was reserved for a school building, which looks like a last attempt to apply a “strategy of prevarication”.⁴⁸

What is interesting in this context are also the proceedings around the same time – in 1777 – involving the bequest of a local citizen, Thomas Kuenater: A “Breechl- bzw. Baadestube”, a small building for drying flax, from his bequest is sold to the citizenry of Innichen with the explicit intention of preventing its purchase on the part of a third party, because “it is rumored that one or the other particular purchaser intends to use this concession for the erection of a house, consequent to which the citizenry could be constrained with regard to forestry and otherwise”.⁴⁹

The argumentation alludes to possible damage to the forest, but it sounds very vague. References to excessive consumption of both building wood and fire wood successively are usually quickly introduced in statements in the context of prevention strategies – in addition to a burden to the community. The measure, a gauge for the “right” size of the local population in the sense of a certain average standard, a certain property structure, was based – as it appears – on a relatively fixed quantity of houses and farms – not least of all because a number of privileges and obligations were not granted to or required from persons, but rather tied to houses and farms, which emphasizes the position of the property criterion once again.

Inheritance Practice as Complementary

A basic concept of hindrance policies, the preservation of the socio-cultural structure, is supported, finally, by the inheritance practice, which is oriented to the primogeniture model. This means that in the majority of families, only one child inherits the real estate property of the family, usually in its entirety and integrity, so that the size of properties tended to be frozen over long periods of time.⁵⁰ This excludes the moment that is important to actual partitioning areas, specifically the fact that the conjoining of inherited properties through marriage was what first enabled a viable property size again, along with the range of various intensive and extensive agricultural and other usage possibilities this

⁴⁸ Cf. TLA Innsbruck, VBI 1781, fol. 881.

⁴⁹ TLA Innsbruck, VBI 1777, fol. 330.

⁵⁰ Cf. as a similar case: A. Fauve-Chamoux, *The Stem Family, Demography and Inheritance: the Social Frontiers of Auto-Regulation*, in: R. L. Rudolph (Ed.), *The European Peasant Family and Society. Historical Studies*, Liverpool 1995, 86-113.

entailed. At least theoretically, the necessity of this kind of consolidation fostered local endogamy. Conversely, when the so-called yielding heirs are paid off with mobile goods – money or valuables – they are less strongly tied to a location in this model. In both cases, there is at least a tendency to follow a logic of the viability of property units,⁵¹ but the ways in which an existence is to be made possible, or ensured in the best case, are fundamentally different.

Following the property orientation outlined so far, one could be tempted here to think of the concept of a fixed number of niches as developed by Gunther Ipsen and Gerhard Mackenroth, which assumes an “iron chain between reproduction and inheritance” through marriage as a steering element.⁵² A concept of niches as a given norm offers a central framework of orientation in a society such as the one described here and in fact constitutes the foundation of the marriage consent policy, which was intended to secure a basis for existence for the establishment of a family. In a society that is highly (self-) regulated in this respect, however, this practice cannot be adequately described or explained.

Following the Ipsen-Mackenroth logic, however, firstly and most of all the diversity of possibilities for attaining an economic foundation aside from inheritance should be noted.⁵³ Farms, houses and portions of houses changed owners not only through the transfer from one generation to the next, but they were also sold, purchased and leased. In addition and despite all rigidity – and this is to be regarded as a test case – in certain cases, couples also married, who lived in a kind of tenancy as lodgers (“Eingehäuste”). These were the findings of a closer analysis of the married couples and families registered as lodgers in the family registry book – a *liber status animarum* – in the 1830s and 1840s.⁵⁴ These included couples that had a property owner status at the time of marriage and subsequently resided as lodgers due to a decline in social standing – in conjunction with bankruptcy, for instance. There were also men and women, who were still anticipating the inheritance of a house and thus fulfilled the ownership criterion as well. This shows that the frequently cited connection between property acquisition and the possibility of marriage should not be

⁵¹ On this concept, cf. P. P. Viazzo, *Upland Communities. Environment, Population, and Social Structure in the Alps since the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 1989, 226 ff; cf. also: J. W. Cole & E. R. Wolf, *The Hidden Frontier. Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley*, New York/London 1974.

⁵² On this, cf. J. Ehmer, Eine „deutsche“ Bevölkerungsgeschichte? Gunther Ipsens historisch-soziologische Bevölkerungstheorie, in: *Demographische Informationen*, (1992/93), 60-70; Schlumbohm, *Lebensläufe*, 97f; P. P. Viazzo & D. Albera, *Population, Resources and Homeostatic Regulation in the Alps: the Role of Nuptiality*, in: M. Mattmüller (Ed.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Berggebieten. Referate gehalten am Kolloquium zur Geschichte der europäischen Berggebiete*, September 1985, Graz, Basel 1986, 182-231.

⁵³ Cf. R. Schofield, *The Relationship Between Demographic Structure and Environment in Pre-industrial Western Europe*, in: W. Conze (Ed.), *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas*, Stuttgart 1976, 146-160, 151.

⁵⁴ STA Innichen, Familienbuch 1829.

unquestioningly regarded as a given. Finally, a third group – and this is of particular interest in conjunction with the present topic – involved couples with no recognizable prospects of an economic improvement of their situation. The criteria that could be filtered out, as to why they were nevertheless able to obtain permission to marry, were that the women were all well over 40 at the time of marriage, so that children were not to be expected, or that they already had at least two illegitimate children or were expecting a second at the time. These hardly coincidental criteria throw a significant light on the scope of negotiation in the coupling of property and marriage, which was still quite narrow, but at least given. Consequently, the courses of action available to the local authorities were strongly structured in keeping with the logic described. At certain neuralgic points, however, competing and conflicting interests of the local authorities and the resultant scope of possibilities are recognizable.

Finally, an increasingly schematic course of inheritance succession through the eldest son is evident over the course of the 19th century in comparison with a far greater dynamic and flexibility in the 18th century, which offered younger siblings in general and daughters in particular greater opportunities for inheritance.⁵⁵ This shift is in part also to be located in the context of changes in the overall socio-economic situation and in general partly conditioned by changed migration patterns and the spectrum of opportunities. A higher life expectancy probably plays a certain role in this, which was also linked, not least of all, with the circumstance that there was no longer an extremely high mortality rate due to epidemics after the end of the 18th century, as was the case in Innichen in 1743 and 1796/97 (cf. Diagram 3). In view of inheritance practice, a way of thinking tendentially oriented to a niche-model is to be regarded as specific to the era of the late 19th century against the background of a corresponding political culture of upheaval.

Concentrations and Boundaries

The hindrance policy, this socially restrictive system, is thus based on certain notions that guided the decisions of the landowners, the communal representatives, who were recruited from the crafts and trade milieu, and the property transferers. Actual ecological and economic limitations and determinations comprise only one element in a closely interwoven bundle of factors. From a

⁵⁵ Michaela Hohkamp and Jürgen Schlumbohm come to similar conclusions on this question; cf. M. Hohkamp, *Wer will erben? Überlegungen zur Erbpraxis in geschlechtsspezifischer Perspektive in der Herrschaft Triberg von 1654-1806*, in: J. Peters (Ed.), *Gutsherrschaft als soziales Modell. Vergleichende Betrachtungen zur Funktionsweise frühneuzeitlicher Agrargesellschaften*, München 1995, 327-341, 338; Schlumbohm, *Lebensläufe*, 391. For a differing model, see: M.-P. Arrizabalaga, *The Stem Family in the French Basque Country: Sare in the Nineteenth Century*, in: *Journal of Family History* 22 (1997), 50-69, 54ff.

micro-historical perspective, calculations of a carrying capacity, for instance, become questionable, not least of all because their proceedings are too schematic and cannot sufficiently take into account the actions of human beings in certain situations, the individual notions that they have of their own, and the resultant resistance. The estimation of the acceptance of new possibilities of the expansion of the nourishment basis – for example the spread of potato cultivation – has to be differentiated. For the region around Innichen, it is documented that this happened only hesitantly. In the same way, the hostility towards industrialization that was borne on a broader regional level and part of a certain attitude that is to be socio-culturally defined, is hardly compatible with mathematical models.

In the way that they were interlocked, the form of acceptance of citizens, political marriage consent, partitioning prohibition and house-building taboo, relatively fixed property sizes and the inheritance practice oriented to the primogeniture model, high celibacy and migration rates, all of these together, were the pillars of this citizenship-estate society. It was probably only possible to preserve it until well into the 19th century, because the reverse side of these policies that generated exclusion, were internal integrative ambitions. This is evident, for instance, in the assignment of communal offices and commissions or the communal care of the poor that obviously functioned.

The effectiveness of centralized state endeavors in the direction of a liberalization that contradicted their own self-understanding could thus be attenuated and circumvented. What should not be underestimated here is the role of provincial politics as the ally of local politics. However, this was only able to delay, but not to arrest overall social changes. The high degree of organization and linkage was able to produce the great stringency of the hindrance policies outlined here and continue them over decades, but a consequence of this was that as one communal institution broke away, the others gradually gave way in the end, too.